
UNIT 22

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22.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit our aim is to give you an extract from a speech by Jawahar Lal Nehru to enable you to check whether you can now understand such passages with the help of a glossary and a set of comprehension-questions. There are also exercises asking you to use some of the words and phrases in sentences of your own.

In the section on grammar and usage we have set exercises to revise the various items you have already practised on this course. There is also a composition exercise based on the passage read by you.

22.1 READING COMPREHENSION

Read the following passage from Jawahar Lal Nehru's address at Columbia University in U.S.A.

22.1.1 Passage for Reading

The Voice of India
by Jawahar Lal Nehru

- 1 In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time of think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet how are we to act, even in the present, unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women, who are in the university today and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is hope for the next generation. The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two world wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that, even after that price has been paid, we have not purchased real peace or a cessation of conflict and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues to go the same way that led previously to disaster.
- 2 I think that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right but the means are wrong, it will vitiate the end or divert us in a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That, indeed, has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past, but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

- 3 I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you; not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict and enforced leisure.
- 4 The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We are not worthy of him and yet, to the best of our ability, we try to follow his teaching. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords a parallel to this solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and co-operative relations. It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the nations have faded away and given place to co-operation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this co-operation as an independent nation.
- 5 I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way, but may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful evolution which might be applied to the larger problem before the world today?
- 6 That evolution demonstrates to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny, and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played, but it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril. Today this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate. Must the twentieth century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction?
- 7 I do believe, in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation that faces us.
- 8 I realise that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellowmen. Nevertheless, the basic truth remains and is always to be kept in view and, as far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise, we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.
- 9 India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also, with new urges and desires. Since August 1947, she had been in a position to pursue her own foreign policy. She was limited by the realities of the situation which she could not ignore or overcome. But even so, she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, however imperfectly, theory to reality in so far as she could. In the family of nations she was a newcomer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase her power and influence.
- 10 A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus, she has tried to combine idealism with national interest.
- 11 The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major Power or group of Powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance, which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

(from *Jawahar Lal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-1953*)

22.1.2 Note on the Author

Jawahar Lal Nehru (1889-1964) was a great Indian statesman and nationalist leader. He spent several periods in prison for his nationalist activities and practised a policy of non-cooperation with Britain during World War II. He was the first prime minister of India (1947-64).

22.1.3 Glossary

1 **in'cessant** : never stopping

'feverish : restless

i'deals : perfect standards

ob'jectives : objects to be won

'adequately : to a sufficient degree

'standards : levels of quality considered proper

'values : ideals which most people have about the worth of good qualities

,gene'ration : all people of about the same age; a period of time in which a human being can grow up and have a family, perhaps 25 or 30 years

di'saster : sudden great misfortune

'Two 'world 'wars : The first was fought from 1914 to 1918 and the second from 1939 to 1945.

'purchased : gained

ces'sation : a short pause

'conflict : quarrel

'tragedy : a terrible or unhappy event

2 **end** : an aim or purpose

'vitiate /'vi:ʃieɪt/ : harm the quality of

di'vert : cause to turn from one direction to another

'intimately : closely

in'extricably : in such a way that they cannot be separated

'seldom : rarely

3 **'venturing** : being bold enough

'novel : new

im'pressed : made their importance clear

'alternating : following by turns

en'forced : made to happen by force

'leisure : free time

4 **,inspi'ration** : encouragement; giving unusual power to do good

'sheltering : protecting from harm

'moral : concerning character or behaviour as being good or evil

sub'ordinate : put in a position of less importance

sig'nificant : of noticeable importance

af'fords : gives

5 **pre'sume** : dare to do something which one has no right to do

,evo'lution : gradual change and development

6 **'demonstrates** : shows clearly

'physical : of material things, of the body

'arbitrator : what has complete control over actions or decisions

'destiny : fate

'waging : beginning and continuing

termi'nation : bringing to an end

'paramount : highest in importance

'ultimately : in the end

'peril : danger of being harmed

'contemplate : think deeply about

'primitive : of the earliest stage of development

'barbarism : the state of being uncivilized

'efficacy : the quality of being able to produce the desired effect

ingenuity : skill and cleverness in making things

8 'statesman : a political or government leader who is wise and fair-minded

ig'nore : not to take notice of

'abstract : general as opposed to particular; thought of as a quality rather than as an object or fact

recept'ivity : willingness to receive new ideas

'vicious : dangerous

9 'urges : strong wishes

a'dapt : change so as to make suitable for new needs

'theory : the part of a science or art that deals with general principles as opposed to practice

po'tential : existing in possibility

10 'fettered : bound as if with chains

tra'ditional : passed down from the past to the present

'rivalry : competition

'bitterness : hate, anger, or other unpleasant feelings

'prejudices : unfair opinions not based on reason

in'evitably : because it could not be prevented

en'lightened : not keeping to false beliefs; having true understanding

i'dealism : the system of living according to one's ideals

11 ob'jectives : things aimed at

pur'suit : continued effort to gain something

a'lignment : the act of forming into groups

contro'versial : likely to cause much argument or disagreement

e,limi'nation : removal

di,scrimi'nation : treating different people in different ways

af'flict : cause to suffer

22.1.4 Comprehension Questions

Paragraph 1

1) Where, according to Nehru, does the hope for the next generation lie?

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2) 'We have not purchased real peace'. Explain.

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3) Mankind has not profited by its experience of world wars. What lesson has it not learnt?

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Paragraph 2

4) What is the relation between means and ends? What happens when the means are wrong?

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Paragraph 3

5) What is Nehru referring to when he talks about 'incessant activity and conflict' and 'enforced leisure'?

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Paragraph 4

6) What is unique about the attainment of independence by India?

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Paragraph 6

7) What is the difference between our times and the primitive age?

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Paragraph 7

8) Who does Nehru refer to as 'my master'?

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Paragraph 8

9) What is the vicious circle referred to here?

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Paragraphs 9-11

10) What was the advantage India had even as a newcomer in the family of nations?

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11) How, according to Nehru, was India's foreign policy determined? What were its main objectives?

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12) What, according to Nehru, afflicted the greater part of the world?

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22.2 VOCABULARY

Exercise 2

Frame sentences of your own, using the following words and phrases:

1) profit by (see paragraph 1)

2) vitiate (see paragraph 2)

3) novel (see paragraph 3)

4) lay stress on (see paragraph 4)

5) to the best of our ability (see paragraph 4)

6) presume (see paragraph 5)

7) efficacy (see paragraph 6)

8) keep in view (see paragraph 8)

9) afflict (see paragraph 11)

22.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have given you revision exercises to enable you to practise and assess the skills you have acquired through this course—reading comprehension, use of vocabulary, use of grammatical patterns, and composition.

22.6 KEY WORDS

ad'dress (noun): a speech or talk

devo'lution: process of developing

'nationalist: devoted to one's nation

'statesman: a person taking an important part in the management of State affairs

,uni'versity: an institution for the promotion and dissemination of advanced learning.

22.7 SUGGESTED READING

Jawahar Lal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-1953, Publications Division, Government of India.

22.8 ANSWERS TO EXERCISES

Exercise 1

- 1 The hope lies in the young people learning to have clear objectives and standards of values.
- 2 We have fought two world wars. Even after paying this price we have not gained real peace. Wars only create hatred, which leads to further conflicts.
- 3 Mankind has not learnt the lesson that wars do not bring peace.
- 4 There is a close relation between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. If the means are wrong, the end also loses its good quality, and a wrong course of action is adopted.
- 5 The 'incessant activity and conflict' was the political struggle against British rule, and the 'enforced leisure' refers to several periods spent in prison during that struggle.
- 6 The unique thing was that the struggle was peaceful and after the attainment of independence by India her relations with Britain were friendly and cooperative.
- 7 One difference is that we now have more destructive weapons.
- 8 'My Master' refers to Mahatma Gandhi.
- 9 It is a dangerous circle; one evil action leads to another, and no problem gets solved.
- 10 The advantage was that India could develop its resources and become powerful. Also, she was not bound by old enmities, rivalries, or prejudices.
- 11 India's foreign policy was determined by a true understanding of her own interests and the ideals she wished to pursue. Its main objectives were: peace, non-alignment, independent approach to each issue, liberation of subject peoples, national and individual freedom, removal of racial discrimination and of poverty, disease, and ignorance.
- 12 The greater part of the world suffered from want, disease, and ignorance.

Exercise 2

Specimen Answers

- 1 We must learn to profit by our experiences.
- 2 All his attempts to improve were vitiated by his lack of will power.
- 3 You have made a novel suggestion; it is something we have not tried.
- 4 This school lays stress on physical exercises.
- 5 I will do this work to the best of my ability.
- 6 He presumed to tell his employer how the work ought to be done.
- 7 We have tested the efficacy of this medicine.
- 8 We should always keep our ideals in view.
- 9 We want to remove poverty, disease and ignorance, the three evils that afflict our people.

Exercise 3

Specimen Answers

- 1unless we know the true facts.
- 2what you are talking about.
- 3can be solved only when we all work together.
- 4who have to bear the burden of life's problems in the future, must.....
- 5we have to pay.....
- 6that we did not succeed in our plans.
- 7we must make sure that our means are also good.
- 8cannot be separated,
- 9by our great leaders.
- 10not often remembered that we still have a large number of poor and illiterate people in our country.